The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE THIRD ANTI-SUFFRAGE VICTORY IN OHIO

FOR the third time the voters of the State of Ohio have spoken in no uncertain terms and have overwhelmingly defeated a woman suffrage measure. For the third time Ohio has vindicated its reputation as a sane, progressive and independent State. By a majority of more than 135,000 the voters of the State defeated the presidential suffrage bill which was forced through the Ohio legislature last winter by the efforts of a lobby of women who infested the capitol and by cajolery, promises or threats succeeded in securing a majority of one in favor of the bill.

Mrs. Catt and her cohorts have dared to claim that the petitions for a referendum on this iniquitous proceeding were fraudulent, although they received the favorable decision of the highest court in the State. But by its action on November 6 the electorate of Ohio has disposed of that falsehood by sustaining those petitions, proving them to be a true expression of the wishes of the people.

The effort of the suffragists to prevent the people of the State from voting on a question of such vital moment shows an utter disregard for the principle of democracy about which they so glibly prate.

It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we present to our readers this month the photograph of Mrs. H. E. Talbott of Dayton, President of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, who has twice led the anti-suffrage forces to victory over the enemies of good government.

"TO UPHOLD AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST ALL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC ENEMIES"

THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at a special meeting on November 22d, adopted a new national platform and a resolution which will be sent to President Wilson and to each member of Congress. Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., President of the Association, presided. Twenty-five States in which women are organized against Woman Suffrage were represented. The resolution and platform adopted follow:

Whereas, In the recent election in New York State, Woman Suffrage was carried by the increased pro-German, pacifist and socialist vote cast in New York City, and,

Whereas, The suffrage victory in New York has caused suffragists, socialists and pacifists to demand the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and,

Whereas, The present Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the several States and the national platforms of both great political parties recognize *the right of each State to settle this question for itself,* and,

Whereas, The passage of the proposed Federal amendment would encourage all pro-Germans, pacifists and socialists of both sexes in their demands for a national referendum on this war, and,

Whereas, Such a referendum could only lead to a division of public opinion and become an instrument for the encouragement of resistance to the selective draft and to army discipline, and,

Whereas, The Federal Suffrage Amendment is undemocratic and unjust, a destruction of the right of self-government and would tremendously increase racial problems and all other problems of American democracy; therefore,

Be It Resolved, By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,

That the OATH administered to all members of Congress and officers of the United States Government, "to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States against all foreign and domestic enemies," morally and truly applies to the PRESENT Constitution and to the proposed Federal Suffrage Amendment:

That this Association, in harmony with its past principles and present ideals, adopt and take appropriate action to defend the following national platform:

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

Stands for home and national defense against Woman Suffrage, feminism and socialism.

For MAN-POWER in Government, believing that democracy must be STRONG to be SAFE.

For the PRESERVATION of the established foundations of the American Republic as a model for the world.

For the ENFORCEMENT of the CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT of each State to settle the question of Woman Suffrage for itself.

For EFFICIENCY and PROGRESS, without waste and duplication in government.

For the CONSERVATION of the best womanhood of all conditions and stations of life.

For the ultimate UNION of women of all classes and creeds along non-partisan lines, so that the interests of womanhood, childhood and civilization may be advanced FREE from the strife and division of politics, factions and parties.

For the retention of the best IDEALS of the past adapted to the advantages and opportunities given to women under modern conditions.

So that the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES of morality, of patriotism and of world progress may be MORE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED in the present and future generations.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS NOT ASHAMED

NATURALLY, I am disappointed in the result of the election, but I would rather be disappointed than ashamed. It has been proved conclusively that the enemies of good government are our enemies, and as for our "allies"—I wonder whether Berlin is more depressed over the suffrage victory than elated over the Mitchel defeat?

The cause for both is the same—the advancing tendency toward radicalism, including pacifism, socialism and feminism.

The anti-suffragists had also to contend against the pressure brought to bear by the concerted action of the Administration at Washington.

We, therefore, had two opposite types of mind opposed to us—those who despise the voice of authority and hope by the help of their women's votes to throw off the restraints of government; and those who still retain an awe of "office" and feel they must vote according to the wishes of the "men higher up."

Another cause for the suffrage victory was the practically unlimited use of money in their campaign. If a correct list of their expenses is filed in Albany, I am sure the people of New York will be appalled at the magnitude of the price paid for the chance to try out this precarious experiment. I am inclined to think that their victory was too dearly bought—in more ways than one.

I am glad of an opportunity to congratulate Miss Chittenden and her faithful co-workers through the State on the clean, upright, dignified conduct of her campaign. We have fought the good fight—and there are many things worse than honorable defeat.

ALICE H. WADSWORTH (Mrs. James W.).

HOW PRO-GERMANS AND PACIFISTS CARRIED SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK

WOMAN suffrage was carried in New York by pro-Germans, pacifists and socialists. The election figures *prove it.*

The anti-suffragists carried New York State down to the city line, but the pacifist, pro-German, socialist vote cast for Hillquit carried woman suffrage.

Hillquit ran on a pacifist platform. He opened his campaign by speaking *in German* to German-Americans. He insisted that every man who voted for him should not only vote, but work for woman suffrage.

The socialist gain, the suffrage gain and the number of German voters is similar in every borough of Greater New York.

Mr. Hillquit polled 142,178 votes. This was a gain of 110,021 votes over the *legitimate* socialist vote of 1913 and 1916.

The *proof* that this was not a legitimate socialist vote, but a pro-German, pacifist, anti-American vote is found in the fact that in three years, from 1913 to 1916, the regular socialist vote of Greater New York did not increase one thousand. Russell, the socialist candidate in 1913, received 32,057 votes. Benson, the socialist candidate in 1916, received only 31,787 votes, and the socialist labor candidate received only 1,333 votes in New York City.

Hillquit gained this sudden, significant increase of 110,000 votes in a city where, according to the United States Census of 1910, there were 102,513 *German-born* men of voting age, naturalized or with first papers. This was in 1910. Since then, the number of German-born men who have rushed to obtain American citizenship is enough to explain the entire Hillquit increased vote of 110,000 very significantly.

As these men, one by one, marked their ballots for Hillquit—and against the war—they thought the secrecy of the ballot box would shield their submarine attempts to stop this war. But the figures expose this trick unmercifully. The United States Government has already announced its discovery that pro-Germans throughout the country were using *socialism* as a shield for *sedition.*

Consider these facts:

In Manhattan, there were 40,786 male voters of German birth.

In Manhattan, there were 37,306 more votes cast for Hillquit than any socialist candidate ever received before. There were 32,446 more votes for woman suffrage than in 1915. There were 32,486 fewer votes *against* woman suffrage than in 1915.

In Brooklyn, there were 34,100 male voters of German birth. In Brooklyn, the socialists gained 36,631 votes, the suffragists gained 35,027 votes, and the anti-suffragists lost 31,890 votes.

In the Eighth Assembly District the anti-suffragists won—where the lowest socialist vote was cast and the smallest socialist gain was made.

In the Twenty-second Assembly District, where the largest suffrage vote was cast, the socialists also made their greatest gain and polled their largest vote.

In the entire city, the socialists received 107,805 more votes than the largest previous socialist vote in every borough.

In the entire city, the suffragists received 95,913 more votes, and the anti-suffragists 79,538 fewer votes, than in 1915.

Even in their difference, the figures are significant.

If, as Mr. Hillquit said, "all these socialist votes were cast for the woman suffrage amendment," the suffrage and socialist gains would be the same—unless the suffragists lost 12,000 votes, and the anti-suffragists gained 16,000 votes from other causes.

If, in other words, there were 12,000 or 15,000 men who, like Henry A. Wise Wood, Admiral Fiske and other anti-suffrage converts, voted for suffrage in 1915, but against suffrage in 1917, on account of its association with pacifism, its representative in Congress, or the pickets, all the figures are most reasonably accounted for.

If the suffragists could have carried a straight American election, they would not have lost Maine by two to one a few weeks ago.

If they could have won without Hillquit's 100,000 pro-German pacifists—"born in Germany"—they would not have lost Ohio by 137,000 the same day they carried New York.

The socialists and pacifists declare that the New York victory will hasten the passage of the Federal amendment, and that then, "free women of the world" will stop the war by "forcing the laying down of arms."

In other words, every pro-German, pacifist and socialist hopes to force country-wide woman suffrage by Federal amendment—and then demand a referendum to men and women voters on this war!

Shall socialists and pacifists *fight the American army* from behind by the same methods that have ruined Russia and injured Italy?

Shall our brave boys "over there" depend for their arms, food, clothing and lives on pacifists and women Congressmen over here?

If the Kaiser can get the pacifists, socialists and suffragists to weaken America, as Russia and Italy have been weakened, the cause of America and her Allies will be lost, and an autocrat will rule the world.

HILLQUIT VOTE MEASURE ONLY OF PRO-KAISERISM, SAY WRIGHT AND WALLING

CHESTER M. WRIGHT and William English Walling, prominent socialists who have severed relations with the party because of its anti-war attitude, asserted last night that the vote Morris Hillquit polled Tuesday was in no sense a socialist vote. Neither was it fair to assume, they said, that it indicated a legitimate pacifist sentiment here.

"Mr. Hillquit's vote was not a socialist vote," said Mr. Walling. "He got the votes of many who regarded him as pro-Kaiser. He made his appeal to the ignorance of his constituency. He knew he couldn't have any influence on the war, yet he pretended that his election would be a step toward peace.

"Morris Hillquit may delude himself into believing that the vote he got indicates a pacifist wave in this city. But the country is not alarmed. Furthermore, it is absurd for him to pretend to believe that the actual legitimate socialist vote has increased. No one can tell that. Here in New York and throughout the country the socialist gained only when supported by Germans. Hillquit knows that, but he doesn't say so. If ever there was a cunning, deceitful demagogue, it is Morris Hillquit."

"No one is going to be frightened at the vote Mr. Hillquit received," said Mr. Wright. "His total comprised habitual socialist voters, pro-Germans and Germans, and those who were misled into voting for a will-o'-the-wisp.

"We must follow this election with a campaign to make the war issues clearer, and to make manifest to all the splendid idealism of our national cause.

"I find no cause for discouragement in the Hillquit vote. The only result it will produce upon Americans will be a deeper determination to strengthen our nation's forces and a firmer resolve to eradicate ignorance and sedition wherever found."—New York *Times*, November 8, 1917.

"ALL SOCIALISTS VOTE FOR SUFFRAGE"

BEFORE the election Mr. Hillquit stated his war platform as follows:

"I am for peace on the basis proposed by the Russian Republic—no annexation, no indemnities." He said in an interview in the New York *Call*, the socialist paper: "At our meetings now we tell the people *they need not support socialism unless they are prepared to vote for the suffrage amendment, too.*" The *Call*, on October 5th, said: *"Socialists to a man will vote for it.* But the voting alone will not suffice. The propaganda for woman suffrage from now on until election day constitute a big issue of the socialist campaign. Our socialist candidates must see to it that every voter knows exactly his business to talk woman suffrage to his neighbors, shopmates and friends."

Mr. Hillquit, in reviewing the results of the election, made some significant claims. Among other things, he said: "The outstanding features of the campaign were the crushing defeat of Mayor Mitchel on a platform of militarism and the tremendous socialist gains.

"The election has shown an increase in the socialist vote of about 500 per cent. and has established the socialist party as an important and permanent factor in the policies of the city," and finally, "We socialists can take the credit for the success of the woman suffrage amendment. From all indications, the socialist vote in the State will exceed 200,000, and all these will be votes for woman suffrage."

SUFFRAGISTS GRATEFUL FOR SOCIALIST HELP

THE National Woman's Party, it is stated, is grateful to all who support it, irrespective of how they stand on the war. It has been supported by the socialist party, which is committed to the proposition that the declaration against war with Germany was a criminal act, and also by the New York *Call*, which is under the ban of the post-office department for seditious writing. It has publicly expressed its indebtedness to both.

In a recent issue of the *Suffragist*, the weekly organ of the National Woman's Party, appears the following article under the caption, "Socialists Help to Suffrage":

"Since the election of Mayor in 1913 the socialist vote in New York has increased by 110,000. It is therefore clear that the victory for suffrage in this election is largely due to the socialist vote, since this vote in New York City alone would have been enough to swing the majority to the side of suffrage.

"The Socialist Party, which has always included suffrage in its platform, this year for the first time truly fought for suffrage as a vital issue of its own. Ever since the National Woman's Party started to picket the White House last January, as a direct protest against further delay of suffrage, the New York *Call*, official socialist organ, has given it strong support editorially, and by telling in fullest detail the true story of government persecution of suffragists, it has put suffrage—national suffrage and State suffrage as a side issue—into the forefront of the consciousness of the masses of men and women. New York State and national suffragists owe both to the *Call* and the Socialist Party obligations for the most generous service."—New York *Tribune*, November 23d.

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, President of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, speaking at their "victory convention" on November 20th, said:

"The socialist candidate for Mayor in this city contributed generously to the cause when he publicly challenged the three other mayoralty candidates to unite on this one non-partisan issue question and give it their support. Mr. Hillquit's challenge did not obtain the degree of support he asked from the other candidates, but it brought statements from the other candidates that each one was a believer in woman suffrage."

THE PRESERVATION OF SOUTHERN CIVILIZATION

By James Calloway, in Macon *Telegraph*

THE issue of our next elections will be the relation of the State to the Union. In Sunday's *Telegraph* Hon. Elihu Root and Senator Borah were quoted, stating their views of the relation of the State to the Union. This issue will be precipitated upon the States when Congress convenes. The South is especially interested, owing to its peculiar problem with which other sections have not to deal.

This is a basic principle with the South: That the perpetuity of our system of government and the preservation of Southern civilization depends upon the power of the States to control and regulate, each for itself, the elective franchise.

This issue has been thrust upon us. It will arise in the December Congress. The weal or woe of the South is involved. No question can be of more local and domestic importance to our people.

Shall the States retain their power to regulate and control the franchise? Or shall this right be transferred to the Federal Government?

The issue is precipitated in the national measure before Congress known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and "immediate action" is called for. Of this amendment Hon. Elihu Root, one of the greatest thinkers of America, says: "I am opposed to the proposed national Susan B. Anthony amendment which provides for universal suffrage. I am opposed to having the Constitution of the United States amended so as to impose woman's suffrage on States which do not want it. . . . It is the subjection of the people of New York to the government of other States. That is what the proposed Susan B. Anthony amendment proposes to accomplish. It is at variance with our system of government. It humiliates a State."

As this issue has been quickened and forced to the front by the President's reply to the suffrage delegation led by Mrs. Norman Whitehouse, it behooves us to keep in mind the relation of the States to the Federal Government. What are those relations?

Dr. J. L. M. Curry, a man thoroughly conversant with our system of government, and a profound scholar, thus defined those relations:

"The United States is sovereign as to all matters delegated to it by the Constitution; it is without any sovereignty, jurisdiction, power or function as to all matters not placed within its power by the Constitution. The topics which lie outside the national legislation greatly exceed the number to which the power of State legislation does not extend. State power and jurisdiction embraces the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant, and can arrest, imprison, try, condemn and execute citizens of the United States infringing State laws. The people of each State compose a State, having its own government, and endowed with all the functions essential to separate and independent existence, and it is hers to say who shall be its jurors and also its voters, and without the States in the Union there could be no such political body as the United States.

"The preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments," continues Dr. J. L. M. Curry, "are as much within the care and design of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the national government. See 7 Wallace, 700, 775. But for States the Union would perish from paralysis of its limbs.

"Bancroft said: 'Aside from the sphere of the Federal Government, each State is in all things supreme, not by grace, but of right.'

"Alexander Hamilton wrote: 'The State governments are essentially necessary to the form and spirit of the general system. With the representative system a very extensive country may be governed by a confederacy of States in which the supreme legislature has only general powers, and the civic and domestic concerns of the people are regulated by the laws of the several States.

"George Chilton said: 'The sovereignty and equality of the States are the only stable securities for the liberties of the people against encroachments of power.'

"Ben Hill spoke: 'Let it be written upon every forehead that he is truest to the Union who is most faithful to the States; a Union without States is a country without freedom.'

"L. Q. C. Lamar said: 'The powers of each are sovereign, and neither derives its power from the other. In their respective spheres neither is subordinate to the other, but co-ordinate, and, being co-ordinate, each has the right of protecting its own powers from encroachment of the other, the two combined forming one entire and perfect government.'

"Such are views of the South: and such is her creed. The people of the South represent the true American citizen which makes them the hope and the salvation of this Union."

So we see what the relation of a State is to the general government. It is proposed in the Anthony amendment to take from the State its regulation and control of the franchise and place it under the regulation and control of the Federal Government, and cast the States into the melting pot of a general national consolidation. Shall we permit the Baals of consolidation to strip the Southern States of their only defense and protection?

Mr. Root and Senator Borah and John Sharp Williams are right on this question.

WHO PAYS?

WOMAN suffrage will increase the election expenses of New York State by *at least* $2,800,000. That is, the people of New York will now have to waste yearly, for a useless and dangerous duplication of election machinery, about *three times* the million dollars which it is estimated that the woman suffrage machine *spent to win the vote*, and enough to buy 57,000,000 rounds of ammunition for our troops!

A large part of the suffrage campaign fund was spent in advertising. The motto of national advertisers is "the truth." One representative of a big advertising agency says suffragists spent $150,000 with his firm alone!

They used at least six pages—at from $1,000 to $1,500 a page—in every great New York daily.

But, with this great advertising appropriation, what did the woman suffrage party do?

Did it point out the benefits brought about by woman suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado or California? It did *not*.

It spent many thousand dollars printing quotations from leading politicians, many thousand dollars on pure sentiment, with pictures of "mother, wife and daughter," and *about half* of its great fund in trying to deceive voters into believing that woman suffrage would *cost them nothing!*

Since the election, even the pro-suffrage *Evening Post* has admitted that woman suffrage "may increase cost of elections in city by one-half."

Moreover, the *Evening Post* of November 12th declares:

"The Clerk of Cook County, Ill., estimated in his statement to the Empire State Campaign Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party that the voting of women had increased election expenses about one-third."

The "Empire State Campaign Committee" was a committee of the 1915 suffrage campaign.

Thus, it is shown that the suffragists *knew two years ago* that woman suffrage would increase the election expenses of New York.

In spite of this knowledge, they spent from one-third to one-half of their great advertising appropriation *in trying to deceive the voters on this very point!*

In one page advertisement, published on October 28th in all the big New York papers, occurs this conversation:

"But won't that send our taxes up?"

"That's what a lot of interests would like to have you believe—the liquor interests and the people who oppose child labor laws and decent hours and conditions for working men and women for instance."

"But won't they?"

"Well, look at the records of suffrage States. California has no State tax. Five other suffrage States have rates as low as $1.20 and $3.34 per $1,000. Only four have a rate as high as $5.00 or over. Two have $8.00."

"And what about States where only men vote?"

"Ten of them run as high as up into the teens, twenties and thirties!"

"But wouldn't election expenses go way up?"

"Last year in Chicago, with both men and women at the polls, the cost per vote was 57 cents. In New York it was $1.60."

The honest reader will note how cleverly the replies *evade* a straight "yes" or "no." But the fact that the attempt to deceive is more cunningly concealed is merely an additional proof of its dishonesty.

Were the figures used truthful? They were *not.*

"California has no State tax." The sole object of making that statement was to make men believe that government was not costly in California, while the facts are as follows:

California has no State tax *on general property. State* expenses are raised by taxes on business, inheritances, corporations, etc., and general property is taxes by the *counties.* But the *cost of government* in California is $30.73 more a year *per capita* than it *was, without* woman suffrage, in New York!

Note again the attempt to "put over" the idea that suffrage States have better child labor laws and hours for women—in spite of the recent defeat of the proposed law to protect the Colorado children who work from dawn to dark in the beet fields; in spite of the fact that Oregon is the only State recently cited by the Child Labor Committee as going *backward* in child labor legislation; and in spite of Wyoming—where women have voted for 48 years—being the *only* State which has *lengthened* the hours of labor for women since the war!

As for State tax rates, there are *no* ten States with a rate of over $10.00, only one has a rate in the "teens"—New Mexico. The average for the country is $2.75, the average for *suffrage* States is $4.73. And New York's rate *was* 10 cents per $1,000—but the suffragists *did not* advertise *that* fact.

The worst juggle, however, was in reply to the question:

"But wouldn't election expenses go way up?"

Yes, would have been *the honest answer.*

Instead, the reader was told a confusing falsehood, rather than the *truth,* namely, that *last year* Chicago's election expenses, officially estimated, were $2,500,000, while New York's were $1,634,000!

But they had *six elections* in Chicago, and the expense was divided by the number of *votes* cast at all these elections, while the New York expense was divided by the number of *persons* who did the voting in New York!

In another page advertisement, the Woman Suffrage Party repeated this deception even more unscrupulously.

"In Chicago a man and his wife can both vote for 46 cents less than a New York man alone," it stated.

This, in spite of the fact that, estimated on the basis of the *persons* who voted, it cost Chicago last year $3.29 per *voter,* or $6.58 for man and wife!

This second page advertisement deliberately trying to deceive the voters on this same question was headed "Keeping Down Taxes and Rents," although the Woman Suffrage Party *knew* two years ago that woman suffrage would increase election expenses.

As the Man-Suffrage Association Opposed to Political Suffrage for Women pointed out in reply to these deceptive advertisements:

"An attempt to deceive the voters is a form of political corruption."

"An attempt to deceive the taxpayers is an effort to obtain their money under false pretense."

How many votes did the suffragists sway with this sort of political corruption? Were they also printed *in German?* Or do they tell us to "Ask Hillquit, *he* knows?"

In view of suffrage misrepresentations, it would be poetic justice if the people of New York State now demand that the entire increase in election expenses *be recovered from the million-dollar Leslie fund and other suffrage fortunes!*

"If politically ambitious women will use dishonest means to win the vote, what can we expect from such women with the vote?" asked the Man-Suffrage Association. Perhaps the lady who came in with the Tammany Tiger will shortly answer that question.

Nothing, however, will better show the feminist politician's delicate regard for the truth than the statement of a suffrage *leader*—whose name is omitted out of charity—in a debate two days before election.

When Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, her opponent, cited the "California has no State tax" claim, and pointed out that government actually costs more in California than in any other State, she replied:

"Oh, we didn't say government did not cost more. We only said there was no State tax."

The dictionary uses a "short and ugly word" to describe a person who "utters falsehood with intention to deceive."

A national advertiser who sold goods on the suffrage leader's principles would not last a month, and the law would make *him* return money which he made people spend by misrepresentation. Shall 'equal rights' be applied to the advertising of the million-dollar suffrage machine in New York?

"EACH STATE FOR ITSELF"

IN reply to a suffrage demand that he use his influence with the President in behalf of the Federal amendment, Representative Fitzgerald of Brooklyn said:

"I have no influence with the President and never have had. I have voted against the submission of this amendment to the States because I believe it is hostile to our whole theory of government. It should be decided by each State for itself. I have advocated the State method and was elected on that platform."

Nobody has packed more suffrage common sense into a smaller space.—New York *World,* November 23, 1917.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND NOTES

By Mrs. George F. Richards

WOMEN must take the lead in the matter of food conservation—and they are doing it with a fine spirit of patriotism. It is the women of the United States, says Mr. Hoover, who must see to it that in the great war crisis none of the food is wasted or lost. The sacrifices of the men who have gone to the front are tremendous, and it seems but a small thing to ask the women of the country to do their bit by saving, not wasting, the good things of the land. The White House has set the pace for a meatless and a wheatless day each week. Of course, the inner shrine of White House family life is a closed book to the outside world, but it seems to be an open secret that "clean the plate" is no less the slogan in the big state dining-room of the Executive mansion than in the homes of the merely well-to-do. The women of the Cabinet have likewise fallen into line and are setting a lively pace for economic living. The Cabinet homes have smelled like old-fashioned country houses in pickling time—boiling sugar, spicy vinegar, the scent of sweet pickles and still sweeter preserves, have told the story that "can what you can" had taken a firm hold in Washington's most fashionable and exclusive circles, and that the women of the Capital were taking the lead in conserving the food supply by "putting up" their own preserves, canning vegetables, and in a general way being as forehanded as were their grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War and other Cabinet officers have been living on pretty plain every-day sort of fare, since the establishment of the Food Administration, for the wives of the Cabinet members are enthusiastic over the new régime.

Mrs. Lansing, wife of the Secretary of State—and Secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage—recently gave a delightful luncheon, at which she served only dried, canned or preserved food.

Mrs. Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, said: "I never before realized how easy it is to be abstemious. I have placed a ban on wheat and no meat for my family except a roast for dinner once in a while." And so it goes. Women are everywhere giving their utmost aid in the stupendous task of feeding our army abroad or feeding the Allies and our own people. Federation of clubs, organizations, churches and schools are working together. In the window of many palatial homes hang the cards sent out by the Food Administration. At the headquarters of our own association on K Street the Hoover Card of Membership, with its shield in the national colors, hangs conspicuously in the great glass door.

And now suppose we stop a minute and see what has been accomplished by women in the way of this important work, *without suffrage*. Says Mr. Hoover: "The women of America have never failed to answer such a call as comes to them now. The saving of food is within their sphere and without food conservation we cannot win the war. The women of America have a wonderful part to play in the work of the war. For the saving of food must largely be the work of women. Those who remain at home can serve by saving. Since food will decide the war, each American woman can do a real national service by protecting the food supply of the nation." And Mr. Hoover is right. The American women have already made a splendid record, and the question of the right to vote doesn't seem to enter the minds of millions of loyal and patriotic women. They are true to their country, and loyal to the boys at the front. And with the nation at war, they are entering heart and soul into food conservation and other housewifely occupations.

Do these women want to vote? Not a bit of it. They want to do a woman's work in a woman's way. And best of all, they are working nobly without thought of personal gain or reward. And what have women already done—without suffrage? Women, through State organizations, have taken steps toward pledging twenty million housekeepers to food conservation. Fifteen million attendants of Sunday schools are being enrolled in the food conservation campaign; women will this year preserve not less than 200,000,000 jars of fruits and vegetables, which will just about make up the deficiency between what we normally consume and what will this year be sent to the Allies. Thus will the home-staying American woman do her bit toward feeding the men in the trenches. And who is doing this canning? The civic organizations, churches, girl scouts and teachers of domestic science, but far and above all, it is the fireside woman who is in the lead. It is estimated that canneries will produce 1,700,000,000 jars of fruit and vegetables this year, and individual and amateur canners are doing wonderful work. In Iowa, in the first six weeks of canning season, there were put up vegetables and fruit to the equal of forty jars per capita of the State population. Down in North Carolina there was an increase of 4,000,000 jars over last year, while New York carried off the palm, but I have not their figures at hand.

A message of thrift has been sent out by women to other women all over the country—from the Colonel's Lady to Julia O'Grady—and from all walks of life come back a response showing a splendid patriotic spirit. They will eat cornmeal, much less meat, less wheat and lighten the garbage can. It is a revival of the old copy-book page of our grandmothers—waste not, want not. There is no royal road to saving. It is done by hard work, persistence and personal watchfulness in a million kitchens. Everybody saving, so the boys fighting our battles at the front may have plenty of food. A new economy seems to have developed, and clean the plate is the slogan that rings true from the great marble palace of the millionaire to the little kitchenette of the bachelor girl.

* * *

The extraordinary session of Congress adjourned without taking further action on the House Committee on Suffrage. It was voted to create such a committee, but the personnel was left for future consideration.

Nothing can now be done until after Congress convenes for the regular session on December 3. The Suffrage Committee of the House will not be a packed committee, as is the case in the Senate. The members of Congress are now forewarned and will see to it that the millions of women throughout the country, who oppose woman suffrage, have representation on that committee. The chairmanship will unquestionably go to a suffragist, as that was the purpose in creating a committee for the exclusive consideration of the Anthony amendment, but at this moment the outlook points to a fair division in membership of those favoring the amendment and those who oppose it. If the militants continue their unseemly demonstration, the formation of the committee may be delayed somewhat, as even suffragist members of Congress hesitate to bring the matter into prominence until indignation regarding the "Iron-jawed Angels" has cooled a few degrees.

An article in a recent issue of the *National Review* (London) says: "For the time being, war has kept the women question in abeyance. It is not desirable for the country's sake nor for the individual woman that women should enter into economic competition with men after the war, although women may do man's

work for a time without suffering permanently, no woman can continue indefinitely to do work that requires masculine physique without harm. It is false political economy to ignore the needs of future generations and the necessity of conservation of energy in women if we are to raise a healthy race."

"The most helpless thing or the most pitiable thing in the world is a woman with money, and no decent man to protect her. Life insurance statistics show that when a woman gets her hands on live insurance after her husband dies, it usually takes about three years for somebody to steal it from her."—(Editorial Washington *Times*.)

And yet it is to that sort of untrained woman that suffragists are urging the vote should be given, and that they shall at once have a hand in framing the financial laws of the nation.

The advocates of "peaceful picketing" have a pretty hard load to haul if they expect to convince the nation that they are not in sympathy with militant pickets. It seems to be merely a question of what sort of an inscription the banners bear. The stunts of the White House pickets have been the only thing that has kept alive the blaze of militant fire, so far as Washington is concerned. In other cities militant banners, socialistic banners, stikes and riots have gone hand in hand. One of two things is evident. Either the entire suffrage party is in favor of militancy or the opponents of militancy are too feeble to suppress it. Whichever may be the case, it is shown very clearly the unwisdom of giving women the vote.

* * *

Those White House pickets who claim they are "political prisoners" at Occoquan jail are having a pretty hard time proving their claim. The report of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia recommended that they be allowed no privileges until they obey prison rules. The women continue to rebel, and some of them have been put in solitary confinement as a result. They are shown every deserved consideration, but the women take the attitude of "Thank God we are not like other" men, and demand exceptional privileges and untrammeled opportunity to break prison rules without punishment. Women who have been arrested for picketing with seditious banners and thus causing riots and street disturbances are now serving jail sentences at Occoquan varying in duration from three to seven months. And whenever a militant is released at the end of her sentence she is welcomed with open arms, and a big celebration waits her re-appearance at the suffrage headquarters. And yet, didn't we hear it shouted from the house-tops that only a small portion of the suffragists approve the picketing and other militant acts? If so, why is the Jail Lady welcomed home with ostentatious fervor and a lavish display of See the Conquering Hero Comes publicity?

I have just returned from a trip which carried me through many States, and am convinced that it will be useless for women to try to persuade men that women ought to have ballot as long as the unseemly demonstration carried on by the suffrage party continue. The country is in the throes of a terrible world-war. Men know the country must be governed along strong and steadfast lines, and that women who flaunt seditious banners, smash windows and incite riots are not the sort of persons who make good citizens.

* * *

Why not satisfy the militant ladies of Occoquan jail fame by giving them their rights? Send them to France and put them on the firing line. If they can put up the same fight here as they have done on several occasions, they would easily prove the truth of their assertions that they "can do man's work." Mrs. Mark Jackson of Baltimore, who was released from jail after serving three days for picketing the White House, denied the charges of a starvation diet, tainted meat and indignities offered. Instead, she testified that when she expostulated with her fellow pickets against their persistent and flagrant attempts to openly defy the rules of the institution, they pulled her hair, and that she was viciously attacked by five of them. Mrs. Jackson adds, as quoted in the Washington *Post:* "From the moment we entered the institution my colleagues were a disorganizing element. They began by objecting to prison clothes, and let me say that the clothes were clean and comfortable, and since it was the rule of the institution that all prisoners are required to wear that uniform, we had no right to quarrel over our garments. We were told that we could not communicate with prisoners. They attempted to pass notes to other suffragettes, and spent much time in talking in sign language to each other. The rule of silence in the dining-room was constantly broken by them. When they did not talk they hummed. At night they talked and created a riot by calling out to each other, late in the night, in defiance of dormitory rules. I cannot identify myself with such a set of fanatics. My memories of those three days are horrible to me, not on account of any hardships I had to endure, but because of the revelation of the real kind of women with whom I have been working.

I attended a hearing given the White House pickets a short time ago, and one of the gentle ladies put her foot on the rail in front of the judge of the police court and said loudly, "We don't want any counsel. I'll do the defending myself." Whereupon she took the reins of justice into her own hands and proceeded to boss the judge, the court and the witnesses, to the amusement of the motley crowd of whites and blacks which filled the room to suffocation. Her tone was strident and her language a trifle more emphatic than that heard in polite social circles. I was reminded of that chapter in one of Harrison's novels where he describes a certain Miss Hodger advocating suffrage. Said he: "She towered over the grand piano and clamored for her *rights*. She demanded these *rights* of her—whatever they were—with such iteration and passion that any kindly, simple-minded person —had there been any such present—must needs have cried out, 'Give that lady her *rights* there—and be quick about it!'"

THE SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

of

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

Will Be Held at

Washington, D. C.,

Beginning Tuesday, December 11, 1917

On Account of the War
There Will Be no Banquet or Social Functions

The Convention will be devoted to the patriotic business of protecting the fundamental principles of American Democracy from the destruction that pro-Germans, socialists, pacifists and politically ambitious women are seeking to accomplish through a Federal suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution.

All members of Anti-Suffrage Associations and all who believe in these principles are cordially invited to attend.

It will be necessary to wire or write for hotel reservations in advance.

A LAWYER'S REPLY TO MRS. CATT'S CLAIMS

AN attempt to mislead the voters is a form of political corruption. It strikes at the heart of honest government and democratic institutions, yet such misleading and untruthful statements were widely circulated in the paid advertisements of the Woman Suffrage Party in the recent campaign in New York.

For example, an advertisement appeared in the *Evening Sun* of October 13th, which stated that nine States had granted suffrage to women since the war began. In response to this statement Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, wrote Mrs. C. C. Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, calling her attention to this misstatement and the fact that the limited suffrage extended to woman last winter in Indiana had been declared unconstitutional by the courts and that the Presidential suffrage in Ohio and Nebraska had been referred to the voters in those States.

To this Mrs. Catt replied in characteristic fashion as follows:

November 2, 1917.

MISS ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN,
280 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My Dear Miss Chittenden—

The State Woman Suffrage Party has the advertising in the New York press in charge. I have not so much as read it with care. However, if the statement quoted by you is the one which has been printed, it is correct. The States gave the vote, did they not?

You are mistaken about Indiana; the supreme court declared that the legislature had no right to extend municipal suffrage; presidential suffrage still stands.

You are right that Ohio and Nebraska have been referred to the voters and I may add, my dear Miss Chittenden, by the aid and through the collusion of the saloon-keepers and brewing interests of those two States. Whether the same interests will be able to defeat the action of the legislature at the polls, is an unsettled question. That does not invalidate the statement that the legislature granted the vote.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Mr. Charles Martindale, an attorney of Indianapolis, was asked by Mrs. Lucius B. Swift of Indianapolis, to give his opinion of the Indiana decision, and in reply wrote Miss Chittenden as follows:

November 3, 1917.

MISS ALICE CHITTENDEN,
280 Madison Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Miss Chittenden—

Mrs. Lucius B. Swift asks me to write you my opinion of the scope of the decision in the recent case of the limited suffrage act of 1917 in Indiana. You will find the decision very shortly in the North Eastern *Reporter*.

While the specific act which the plaintiff asked to have enjoined was the receiving of the votes of women for mayor of the city of Indianapolis, the question involved the entire validity of the limited suffrage act. The court held broadly that the act was invalid because in conflict with Section 2, Article 2, of the Indiana Constitution, which designates exclusively the electorate of this State in "all elections."

It was broadly held that the General Assembly has no power to extend the electoral franchise to women or other classes not mentioned in Section 2, Article 2, of the Indiana Constitution, or in any election. Such privilege can be secured only by amendment of that section of the Constitution in the manner prescribed by the Constitution itself.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) CHARLES MARTINDALE.

Under date of November 7 and in response to a copy of Mrs. Catt's letter sent to him by Miss Chittenden, Mr. Martindale wrote:

It is just such statements as that you quote as having been made by Mrs. Catt which impeach the qualification of women for the suffrage. There can be no excuse for such a statement in view of the decision of our court. So long as the Constitution of Indiana designates the class which may vote in "all elections," including Presidential elections, as well as elections of constables, women cannot vote for Presidential electors or for municipal candidates.

In the language of the ex-editor of the late lamented *Woman's Journal*, "Comment would be superfluous."

WILL MRS. CATT ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS?

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT has issued a statement published in the *Woman's Citizen*, the successor of the *Woman's Journal*, which she claims to be the final answer to the article by Mrs. Margaret Robinson on Frau Schwimmer's peace propaganda, published in the WOMAN'S PROTEST of October.

This final answer of Mrs. Catt is so general in character that many of the points made in Mrs. Robinsons article are entirely ignored, because Mrs. Catt says she wishes to spare the reader the "tedium of details."

But some of these points are so important that we hope Mrs. Catt will forego her decision to make her article final and may consent to give a direct answer to some fair questions, without sparing the reader the "tedium of details."

The questions follow:

1. Did you not say, Mrs. Catt, that Frau Schwimmer was *not* Secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance—of which you were president—when she presented her petition to the President of the United States in August, 1914?

2. Did not Senator Thomas thus introduce her to the President in your presence?

3. Was the *Woman's Journal* misinformed or untruthful when it called Frau Schwimmer the secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in its issue of February 21, 1914?

4. Was the presiding officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association misinformed or untruthful when she presented Frau Schwimmer to the suffrage convention at Nashville as the Secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Association?

5. If, as you say in your "final answer," Madame Schwimmer came to this country "entirely on her own initiative," that the petition to the President was *her* idea and the signatures were gathered by her—that she asked and received by cable the consent of the presidents of suffrage organizations to sign their names to this petition.

Was she trying to deceive the President of the United States in the opening sentence of her letter *quoted by you:*

"We came to you *representing* women of many lands who have *sent* to our London headquarters urgent appeals that *our officers* should urge the United States," etc.? [Italics ours.]

6. Was the *Woman's Journal* of September 26, 1914, misinformed or untruthful when it said:

"Suffrage associations from the following countries have *voluntarily* sent to the London headquarters *of the Alliance*"—the *International Woman Suffrage Alliance of which you were then president, Mrs. Catt*—"the request for the President to aid in bringing an end to the war"?

7. Were you misquoted in the New York *Tribune* of September 15, 1914, when you were reported to have said, "The cable messages and letters received were so urgent and many and called on [you] so definitely to go to the President that whether or not [you] would have chosen to go, they simply forced [your] hand?"

8. Did you know *at that time* that these "urgent" and "voluntary" messages from suffrage and peace associations were really "cooked up" by Frau Schwimmer from the London headquarters *of the Alliance*, as you *now* inform us?

Answers to these questions in no way involve your loyalty to the United States, neither are they questions of loyalty. But we would like a further answer to one or two questions:

(a) Did you say, as reported in the New York *Tribune* of September 13, 1914:

"We are loath to recognize the Red Cross because it comes from war, which we intend to fight with all our capabilities?"

(b) Did you say in St. Louis, as reported in the *Post Dispatch* of that city, February 11, 1916:

"This nation has no right to expect any of its large number of citizens of foreign birth to bear arms against the countries of their kin?"

(c) Did you say at Columbus, Ohio, on May 18, 1917—more than a month after war was declared:

"The United States has no right to talk about 'making the world safe for democracy.' " "We had better blot the mote from our own eye before we go forth and want to blot it from the Prussian eye?"

There are also two other questions of interest:

I. Did you tell the Senate Suffrage Committee, on December 15, 1916, that the New York majority against woman suffrage was largely due to the votes of "paupers and ignorant foreigners?" That "all the inmates of almshouses and all the paupers were voted by the machine in their attempts to beat our amendments?"

Will you tell them *now* that all these "paupers and ignorant foreigners" were voted by the Million Dollar Leslie Suffrage Machine to carry the amendment? *"If not, why not?"*

II. Did you tell the President of the United States, on November 9, 1917, as quoted by the press:

"We stated to him the political situation as viewed by the suffragists since the victory in New York and since the reversal by the courts and by a very fraudulent referendum of the suffrage laws of Indiana and Ohio?"

Did you desire to make the President and the people of the United States believe that the courts of Indiana and Ohio had handed down "fraudulent" decisions, or had sustained "fraudulent" petitions? If not, why was the word used which would imply this?

Is every electorate, petition or court that turns down woman suffrage called "fraudulent" merely for suffrage publicity?

In replying to these questions, Mrs. Catt, will you kindly stick to the point, rather than refer to the distinguished dead relatives of your opponents? The *anti*-suffragists merely want *the truth*. If it is considered indelicate to ask a suffrage leader these plain questions, it must be remembered that women who asked for—and received—the vote "on the same terms as men," and who say that nothing was ever obtained without "pestering" should be the last to complain when asked pointedly to explain the discord and disagreement of public statements they have issued to influence the opinion of the President, the Congress, or people of the United States.

THE WREN, LEE DUCK AND THE TIGER

AESOP'S fables have nothing on New York's facts. Among the most interesting speculations regarding what will happen with woman suffrage in New York, consider the fate of Miss Amy Wren and Mr. Lee Duck, if the Tammany Tiger gets hungry. And what would the author of "Wild Animals I Have Known" say about a Chinese woman boss? The following story is from that stanch suffrage paper, the New York *Tribune*, of October 24th:

For the first time in their lives, two hundred Chinamen born in New York are going to vote in an election, and every one of them is going to vote for woman suffrage, says Miss Amy *Wren*, a lawyer in Brooklyn. She has a large clientele of Chinese, and has not only talked suffrage and preached suffrage to her Chinese friends, but she has actually escorted them to the polls where they registered, and she will escort them again on Election Day to make sure of her work.

"Ninety-nine per cent. of these American-born Chinese don't vote. They're timid about voting, you know," says Miss Wren. "Don't know how, never did, aren't interested. But after getting them to register in the census and selling them Liberty bonds, I knew I could convert them to woman suffrage and get out their vote. So I did."

Miss Wren had to call in the aid of her legel assistant, Jock King Chung, during registration week, for the laundrymen and restaurateurs needed more than mere reminding to send them to the booths. Every morning Miss Wren would make a round over the telephone.

"Ching, did you register?"

"To-mallow, Miss Len," would be the answer in apologetic tones.

"No, to-morrow won't do," would come the answer of the legal adviser. "Chung or I will be up to-day to take you to the polls."

And up they would go. Sometimes the Chinaman was an oldtimer who had been of voting age for thirty years and had never exercised his right of franchise; sometimes he was young.

Sometimes the registrant would get into serious trouble with the primary ballot. Miss Wren had prepared them for the questions they would have to answer, but she had neglected to tell them about the primary ballot. So that one Chinaman, for example, emerged from the booth with a very worried expression on his face.

"I look and look," he said, "and woman suffrage not on sheet. Missy Len tell me surely vote for her. How can such be done?"

Lee Duck, president of the Chinese American Citizens' Association, has also been active in trying to get his apathetic brothers to vote, and next Sunday afternoon Miss Wren will address his organization in behalf of woman suffrage.

MORAL

"There was a young lady from Niger
Who smiled as she rode on a Tiger.
They came back from their ride
With the lady inside
And a smile on the face of the Tiger."

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER, the father of our honored Secretary, Mrs. Robert Lansing, died at his home in Washington on November 15.

Mr. Foster had a remarkable career and had won distinction in three professions—those of arms, law and diplomacy. In 1873 he was appointed Minister to Mexico, where he remained until 1880, when he was transferred to the Court of St. Petersburg. President Arthur made him Minister to Spain. In 1892 Mr. Foster was appointed Secretary of State to succeed James G. Blaine.

Mr. Foster was a strong opponent of woman suffrage and in 1915 wrote a masterly address which was read by Mrs. Lansing at the annual convention of our Association. This address was published in the PROTEST June 16, 1916.

We extend our sympathy to Mrs. Lansing in the loss of her honored father.

"SOME OF THE MEN"—OR A SUFFRAGIST?

A LETTER has been widely circulated by suffragists purporting to come from soldiers of the Eighteenth Regiment in camp at Schenley Park in Pittsburgh protesting against the presentation of a flag by the anti-suffrage organization of Pittsburgh. No reputable newspaper of Pittsburgh could be found to publish this insult to some of the most notable women of their city, but the suffrage organs all over the country have given it publicity, although the letter itself to any patriotic mind carries its own condemnation. We gladly publish the following communication from an "anti":

At this most critical moment when patriotic women are pouring out every energy and every resource on war relief work of every kind and description, it will interest readers of the WOMAN'S PROTEST to be told that the first organized effort in Pittsburgh to help the wounded in the French hospitals was made by the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and was the direct consequence of a visit made by its president to the recently organized National Surgical Dressings Committee's Headquarters in New York shortly after the beginning of the war.

From that time its war relief work was regular and continuous and this, when the suffrage and other prominent clubs and associations of women were pursuing the even tenor of their way, with suffrage propaganda, bridge, lectures and flim-flams.

The last undertaking of these patriotically minded antis was to honor Pittsburgh's crack regiment and its very popular colonel, whose mother was one of the first to give support to the anti-suffrage cause.

Late in the summer, when the Eighteenth Regiment was encamped in Schenley Park, the Pittsburgh association presented the regiment with a beautiful silk regulation flag. The affair was in the hands of the president, Miss Eliza D. Armstrong, a nestor in dignity and wisdom, and her committee, Mrs. Joseph B. Shea and Miss Margaret Scully, and was a brilliant occasion.

The presentation took place at 7.00 P. M. at the Schenley Oval, and the next morning Miss Armstrong received the following anonymous letter, typewritten and mailed in the post office at 6.30 P. M. on August 28th, one-half hour before the ceremony, as post-mark indicates. The letter follows:

MISS ELIZA D. ARMSTRONG,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Madam—

With reference to the proposed presentation of a United State flag to our regiment by the Pittsburgh Anti-Suffrage Association to-night, some of the members of the regiment wish to make clear the following points before the presentation, so that your organization will be under no mistake about this undertaking. We do not pretend to represent the whole regiment, as your association pretends to represent womanhood, but we do represent a very considerable proportion of the men, and if it were not for an army regulation, this letter would be signed by them in person.

We are sending this letter to you as the representative and the type of the anti-suffrage forces, and we wish you to know that while it is not permitted to refuse your gift, if left to a vote of the entire regiment, it undoubtedly would be refused.

The reasons for this are several. Many of our men are educated, all are reasonably intelligent. All who are not too busy with military duties to give the matter any thought, realize with some amusement that you ladies are not giving this flag to honor it or the regiment, but to try to do honor to yourselves and the tottering cause for which you still stand, through the empty semblance of a patriotic act. We also fully realize that while we are going forth to help fight for democracy, you ladies are going to stay at home and fight against it. We shall fight with our minds and bodies, you with your tongues and pens, your check-books and your questionable political alliances. We also realize very forcibly that the ban and curse of armies, namely, alcohol, is your chosen ally in the unholy fight you wage against democracy, and the chief of your cohorts, being second only to the pernicious vice element that is also one of the enemies of military efficiency. It is entirely possible that you personally do not realize this, but then if you gave these things conscientious thought you could not represent the movement that you do.

If this is a war of democracy, surely no society that works to keep disfranchised one-half of our citizens has any part in it, and its presentation of a flag under which we are to be sent out to fight, along with half the world, the great battle against its aims is an empty sham and a hypocrisy on both sides. That we may be absolved from our share in this hypocrisy, we take the trouble to make this statement to clear our own consciences. We can listen quietly to your speeches now with the moral satisfaction of knowing that while making them, you are remembering this letter and the frank truths that it contains.

(Signed) SOME OF THE MEN.

This vicious attack bears every ear-mark of having been written by a woman, and a spiteful minx at that. It has been shown to many male critics and the verdict has been the same—"written by a woman." It was printed in *Publicity*, a sheet issued by women members of the Equal Franchise Association, copies of which have been scattered broadcast, also anonymously.

The writer of this communication to the PROTEST confesses that she has strong anti-suffrage views, and as they are tolerably well known to be such, she has in the course of the last few years received many anonymous letters and postcards, abusive, ranting, ridiculous.

But all these combined do not equal the viciousness of this attack on anti-suffrage principles and the unveiled insult to the honored President of the Pittsburgh Association.

In contravention of the statement made in the anonymous letter that "was it not for an army regulation, this letter would be signed by them in person," will some truth-telling suffragist give us the text of this army regulation?

ANTI.

WHY TRADES UNIONISTS SHOULD BE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE following appeal from a union man shows that the working men of this country are being aroused to the menace of woman suffrage and its alliance with the enemies of the trade unions:

Woman suffrage orators appeal for trades union support on the grounds that the working woman needs the ballot to protect the "8,000,000" women workers in industry. In the first place 2,500,000 of these female workers are under 21, so the vote could not aid them; but more important than anything else is the fact that the vote does not mean either a job or higher wages, as Mr. Gompers has said so many times. If the vote did mean any aid to the working women in industry, then we would find it in the suffrage States. Facts show that the difference between the wages of men and women is 13 per cent. more unequal in the suffrage States than in such States as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, etc. Wages in New Zealand and Australia will average 37 per cent. less than in this country, yet they have nation-wide woman suffrage there.

The last three conventions of the American Federation of Labor passed resolutions which declare that they do not want hours of labor, or wages, fixed by legislative action, but by and through trades union activity. Under woman suffrage in Colorado 4,000 children under the age of 14 work in the beet fields and in California, another suffrage State, the child labor law is let down so that little children may be employed in the canning factories. In Montana, the woman suffrage Congressman, Miss Rankin, espouses the cause of the infamous I. W. W., an organization that has done its best to destroy the American Federation of Labor in the State and elsewhere. The I. W. W. is an enemy of the A. F. of L., and whoever supports that fake union is also an enemy of the A. F. of L. And, leading suffragists do support the I. W. W. in all parts of this country.

Solidarity, the organ of the I. W. W., recently referred to Miss Rankin as "Our Representative in Congress." Of course she is. The Helena *Independent*, a newspaper which supported Miss Rankin for Congress, now denounces her. Woman suffrage is responsible for Miss Rankin, and if given the chance woman suffrage will send more women like her to Congress. She has worked and voted against President Wilson in his war policy, and this is why the socialists love Miss Rankin so much. Every intelligent socialist is a traitor to this nation and every socialist is solid for woman suffrage.

The I. W. W. boldly declare in their platform that they will *confiscate all the industries in this country when they get the power.* Suffrage leaders give aid and support to the I. W. W. Do you like it? The I. W. W. declares that the A. F. of L. is a "fake union." Miss Rankin supports the I. W. W. and she is brought into this State to also aid and support woman suffrage. Do you like it?

Out of 3,000,000 women 21 years of age or over in New York, less than 100,000 *have ever contributed a penny* for the suffrage cause, and out of the 1,000,000 who signed the appeal for votes, over 800,000 signed because of appeals, influence of personal friendship and so on. More than 2,500,000 women of New York either care nothing for the vote, or are opposed to suffrage.

Under woman suffrage the cost of government will enormously increase; it has so increased in the suffrage States and countries, and the wealth producers will pay the bill. Under woman suffrage you will get all kinds of fads and fancies in legislation, such as prohibition, which don't prohibit; commissions to find out why bow-legged girls don't get married in the town in which they were born, or any other kind of a commission that will give a job to a female politician, and you will pay the bill, Mr. Citizen. Under woman suffrage the cost for State elections will be increased by five million dollars in a short time, and you will pay the bill. Say, "Bill," don't you think you better vote NO so you won't have to pay these bills? Think it over.

UNION MAN.

MRS. BELMONT "GOING DOWN" IN HISTORY AND PUBLICITY

NEW YORK, Nov. 12.—Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont is miffed. She feels that Hamlet has been left out of the cast; that in the magnificent drama of the suffrage victory in this State the woman who should have played the stellar rôle has been forgotten. She says the name of Alva E. Belmont will go down in history as the woman who put New York on the suffrage map.

Mrs. Belmont talked to-day at her big suffrage building, the two houses at 13 and 15 East Forty-first Street. She is now State chairman of the Woman's National Party, the renown of which rests upon a string of jailed pickets and the hunger strike of Miss Alice Paul.

"I have received letters and telegrams from all over the country," said Mrs. Belmont, "asking why, in the recording of the New York State victory, the name of the woman responsible for it—my own—was never mentioned by a person or a paper.

"I brought the National Suffrage Association to New York from Warren, Ohio, and established it in headquarters at 505 Fifth Avenue. I paid the rent for two years, too.

"Dr. Anna Shaw was practically unknown here until I brought her to New York. People had heard her name, of course, but she was unknown.

"The New York State Suffrage Association was lost up in Albany, but I established a headquarters for it also at 505 Fifth Avenue. Why? Don't you suppose I had the political sagacity to recognize that New York was the keystone State—that with New York's votes in Congress we could do anything?

"Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt have forgotten who was the person responsible for this victory. But I don't care if they have. I shall go down in history."

Mrs. Belmont indignantly denied that she had ever relinquished work for a New York State referendum, though she is affiliated with the National Women's Party, which stands solely for a Federal suffrage amendment, holding that State referendums are a needless waste of money and energy.

"Stuff and rubbish," said Mrs. Belmont. "Didn't I work for the State? Look at my Political Equality Association. We held meetings every Monday night."

The outdoor meetings of the Political Equality Association, which has now disintegrated, were devoted to a defense of the Washington pickets.

"There is Rhode Island, too," said Mrs. Belmont. "I opened the first headquarters in Newport."

The lunch room, the beauty parlor and all the other side-activities of Mrs. Belmont's headquarters on East Forty-first Street have ceased. The only occupant of the building now is the New York branch of the National Woman's Party. The five headquarters that Mrs. Belmont maintained in different parts of town are closed.—*Boston Morning Globe.*

COMMENT FROM THE PRESS

THE "militant" woman suffragists have been making a sorry spectacle of themselves in Washington again. Another group, the Committee of a Thousand Women, mainly Socialists, whose burning patriotism was shown at a meeting in a New York public school Sunday night, where the utterance most acclaimed was talk of the "free women of the world stopping the war by forcing the laying down of arms," has sent a delegation to Washington to "demand that President Wilson pledge immediately his support of the Federal suffrage amendment as a war measure." How fond of war measures are these friends of peace! They also cry for the release of the martyred picketers. Till New York had voted for woman suffrage, it was the habit to view the picketers with alarm. Now they are victims; and the fruitless effort to force Mr. Wilson to approve the Federal amendment is to be carried on with new threats and violence.

It is not to be believed that the sane and moderate woman suffragists countenance the extremists, whose words and whose acts are sure to bring them into unpleasant familiarity with the law. Feminine disorder and sedition have been borne with altogether too much politeness and patience. The New York women, admitted to political equality, must submit to equality of treatment. They are no longer to be humored as petulant children or spared when they choose to make nuisances of themselves.

Miss Anne Martin of the National Woman's Party said the other day:

"Mrs. Pankhurst lost her head and put her country before her sex."

How many suffragists are prepared to put their sex before their country? That country needs the undivided energy and labor of its people. In the shadow of disorganization and disaster in Europe there must be a sterner concentration of purpose and work on the sole and supreme issue of winning the war. Shall democracy survive? Till that question is settled, controversy about woman suffrage or the method of securing it is striving after wind.

The woman suffrage leaders, the Woman Suffrage Party of New York, are but a part, and not the largest part, of the woman electorate of New York. The former anti-suffragists and neutrals have as much right, by force of numbers more right, to be consulted and regarded as to proposed policies. In the great States that have rejected woman suffrage in the last few years, in every State where it is not now in force by the popular vote and State constitution, to force a Federal amendment will be to create discord and division, to divert the minds of men and women from the instant task of war. Let the long contention cease until after the war. Let anti-suffragist and pro-suffragist, postponing their debates, unite whole-heartedly for America First, for the support of the war. In the interim and during the armistice, the novices in New York will be acquiring political knowledge, experience, and habit, the successful use of which will be a far stronger and better argument than all the suasive orators of feminism could adduce. Moreover, by cordial co-operation with the active forces of patriotism, they will have laid up a store of gratitude with the nation. To ask, as some of them do, for Federal suffrage on the ground that they can't give their whole heart to the war without it, is unconsciously ungenerous. And the United States is but beginning. The woman suffragists should not seek their "reward" till they have put off their armor. They are but putting it on now.—*New York Times.*

NOT THE PLACE FOR PROPAGANDA

WHEN the *Official Bulletin*, published at Washington by the Committee on Public Information, of which George Creel is chairman, was first issued it was proclaimed to be a daily record of government news, containing executive orders and other routine announcements. Certainly the prospectus included no suggestion that its columns were to be used for any political propaganda or contributions of a non-official character. Its publication was authorized on this understanding. It was not intended to express editorial opinions on matters unconnected with the Federal Government and its prosecution of the war. Consequently its readers are surprised to find in a recent issue an article by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo on the sole subject of woman suffrage in the coming election in New York State. Mr. McAdoo declares it is his earnest hope that "the great State of New York will take the lead among the States of the East in doing justice to its women. The constitutional amendment to be voted upon November 6th should be adopted."

The Secretary of State, who is a member of the Committee on Public Information, is known to be opposed to woman suffrage. His wife is an officer of the association of anti-suffragists. He, as well as Mr. McAdoo, has his voting residence in New York State. If Mr. McAdoo may contribute articles favoring woman suffrage to the *Official Bulletin*, Mr. Lansing surely is equally privileged to use space therein for presenting his views on the subject. But we may be very sure that a sense of propriety would prevent him from doing so, as it should have prevented Mr. McAdoo. The columns of the *Official Bulletin* may not properly be devoted to pushing this or that propaganda, however respectable it may be. The public funds should not be employed for that purpose, and Mr. Creel's publication is departing far from its original and legitimate purpose when it presumes to influence questions at issue in State elections.—*Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph.*

SUFFRAGE SUICIDE

THE member of the National Woman's Party Advisory Board who toured the country at Government expense for the first Liberty Loan, and recently in a speech before suffragists of Baltimore urged her sisters in short-sightedness not to lift a finger in aid of the second bond issue, is a living example of the reason why suffragists will gain nothing by the disgusting tactics they are pursuing. The ringing speech of Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer of New York, the woman in point, in which she said: "I haven't nerve to ask for money for a battle for democracy when we who demand true democracy are thrown into jail for so doing," received hearty applause from 150 pairs of hands. Following Mrs. Havemeyer's remarks, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker of Washington, an official of the Woman's Party, with three sons in the Government service, urged a boycott on the loan.

So long as the Woman's Party persists in turning the present exigency of the Government to political account it deserves to be hooted. The little group of wilful women which sees only its own problem at a time when the nation is plunged in a war for liberty is not worthy of the vote. If the suffragists will come out and make their leaders come out and show the patriotism and loyalty which America's real women are showing, forgetting their own little propaganda in the bigger national crisis, the national suffrage of American women will be much nearer at the end of the war than it will ever be if the party leaders continue their present policy of suffrage suicide.

The democracy of which the suffragists have made such "big talk" has plainly never been conceived by them when they sullenly and childishly devote all their energies to defeating their own country in its war for world democracy because their own little problem has temporarily been shelved.—*The (Seattle) Town Crier.*

NOTES FROM THE STATES

MASSACHUSETTS

SOME twenty-five branches were represented at the War Luncheon held at Cook's, October 18th. Mrs. Thomas Allen presided.

Mrs. George S. Hobbs of the Maine Association, expressed warm appreciation of the help given by Massachusetts and Mrs. J. T. Mooney of Jamaica Plain, Mrs. Henry Preston White of Brookline and Mrs. Edwin Ford of Chestnut Hill gave piquant descriptions of their experiences as volunteer workers during the campaign.

A large part of the afternoon was devoted to war topics, beginning with addresses by Herrick Brown and Mrs. I. Tucker Burr in behalf of the Liberty Loan. Mrs. A. H. Parker of Dover, speaking for the State Association, and Mrs. B. L. Robinson of Cambridge, president of the Public Interests League gave a brief and necessarily incomplete resumé of the war work in which anti-suffragists are engaged.

Funds were raised for a Liberty Bond to be presented to Mrs. Wadsworth as a nucleus for a National Anti-Suffrage Reserve Fund. It is interesting to note that the application for the bond was made on a New York *Times* blank in recognition of the friendly attitude of that paper toward our side.

The Public Interests League also subscribed for a $100 Liberty Bond.

The Anti-Suffrage Thanksgiving market will be held at Hotel Brunswick, Boston, Tuesday, November 27th, from 11 A. M. to 6 P. M. There will be a war bread and cake table, farm and dairy table, fancy table, war candy table, a pie table, at which all soldier and sailor boys will be welcomed and given a helping of pie; also a jam and jelly table and a guess cake. Recipes for making the food offered for sale after the most approved war methods will be obtainable and Mr. Hoover's axioms faithfully followed. All our branches are showing the greatest interest in the market and we hope to net a goodly sum for our general work and our relief projects.

Mrs. George R. Wallace, Sr., chairman of the Fitchburg Branch made a trip to Camp Devens November 3d, to distribute literature among the New York soldiers stationed there.

Mrs. William Lowell Putnam of the Executive Committee and former chairman of the Education and Organization Committee, was elected president of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, at the annual meeting held in October.

Mrs. Henry Preston White spent the last three weeks of the campaign in Schenectady, working under the auspices of the Anti-Suffrage Association in that city.

Mrs. Joseph T. Mooney of Jamaica Plain did efficient work organizing and speaking in Johnstown and Miss Grace Blanchard of Fitchburg was in charge of the anti-suffrage shop in Troy.

Mrs. John Balch has accepted the chairmanship of the Home Hospitality Sub-Committee of the Boston Committee on Training Camp Activities.

The Public Interests League will be on duty Mondays at the Liberty Bread Shop, which will continue the work begun by the Hemenway Kitchen.

Our Wareham Branch has fitted out every man enlisting from that town with a knitted outfit. Among other things it has furnished 64 sweaters and 74 kits.

Dover has also fitted out the boys going from that town. Mrs. A. H. Parker, chairman, served as chairman of the Second Liberty Loan Committee for that town, which subscribed a total of $75,000.

Mrs. George Hill has been elected chairman of the Worcester Branch, Mrs. William Marcy resigning. Mrs. Hill is the buyer of all material used by the Worcester Chapter of the Red Cross, and so satisfactory have been the results that the officers of the Metropolitan Chapter of Boston are anxious for Mrs. Hill to perform the same service for them.

Mrs. Robert Babson, chairman of our Gloucester Branch, is serving as secretary of the Women's Committee on Conservation and Production of Food, and is also the chairman of the Gloucester Branch of the National Defense Committee, as well as chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee for her town.

DEPRIVES STATES OF RIGHT TO DIRECT OWN AFFAIRS

"The fact that the suffragists in Virginia have come out for the Anthony Federal amendment to the Constitution brings them out squarely at last in favor of an act which would deprive the States of their right to direct their own affairs; it is a blow aimed at all local self-government; it would overthrow the whole theory of government on which the Union has been built up, and would hit hardest the South, where there are problems which must be handled by the States. The anti-suffragists—and all conservative people, whether for or against suffrage—are bitterly opposed to this amendment."

MRS. FRANCIS D. WILLIAMS,
President Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

VIRGINIA

AN important meeting of the executive committee of the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, of which Mrs. Francis D. Williams is president, was held November 15th, at the home of the president. The executive committee is composed of Mrs. Henry Taylor, Jr., Mrs. E. A. Ezekiel, Mrs. Thomas Cary Johnson, Mrs. J. Edel, Miss Maria Blair, Mrs. E. A. Strudwick, Miss A. T. Daniel, Mrs. Mann S. Valentine, Mrs. John C. Freeman, Miss Ann C. Bentley, Mrs. William A. Powers, Mrs. F. H. Agnew, Mrs. Bland S. Smith, Mrs. James H. Dooley, Mrs. Robert Whittet, Jr., Mrs. James D. Crump, Miss Anna Boykin, Miss Gilberta Whittle and Mrs. J. W. Henson.

The anti-suffragists are naturally vitally interested in the decision of the State Equal Suffrage League to come out for the Federal amendment, yet they feel deeply that at the present time it is nothing short of criminal to waste time and money, energy and initiative, in working for a mere political issue, when the world is involved in the cataclysm of the greatest war known to history, and that all the available possibilities of useful service of the women of the nation should be devoted at this time to helping win the war and not for selfish interests.

Question of Negro Women Is Paramount Issue

In the opinion of those most unalterably opposed to woman suffrage in Virginia, the question of negro women voting is the paramount issue—an issue which always looms large in the South. Two years ago one of the newspapers of Richmond had occasion to look into this matter of colored and white women in the counties of Virginia, and from the statistics obtained from the census was able to make the following deductions:

"Assuming that the women of the two races would qualify to vote in the same proportions and that the white and colored male vote would remain as they were shown to be by the returns of the last presidential election, the colored people would have absolute and immediate control of the counties of Amelia, Brunswick, Caroline, Charles City, Charlotte, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Essex, Goochland, Greenesville, King and Queen, King William, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nansemond, New Kent, Norfolk, Northampton, Nottoway, Powhatan, Prince Edward, Southampton, Surry, Sussex, Warwick and Westmoreland.

"In Buckingham, Halifax, Lancaster and Princess Anne the whites would have a fighting chance if their women vote and present white male vote combined solidly against the colored woman and present colored male vote.

It is to be remembered that the literacy test would not work in choking off the colored woman vote. The colored people are decreasing their percentage of illiteracy very fast, especially among their women and girls. The women of the suffrage league will hardly come forward with a property test. No safeguard would be left but the poll tax; and if colored women knew they could get votes and rule some very rich and important counties by paying $1.50 apiece, we are inclined to think most of them would be willing to go hungry, if necessary, to do it.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 280 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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